1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

pitious, let the Government be propitious, and let there be a fair wind for the journey."

Then follows a small feast prepared by the people of the place for the travellers.

When a lady is to be welcomed, the ceremony is particularly impressive. A woman sits on either side of the visitor, the other women sit facing her and clap, then sing out, "The greenheart tree has drifted [hither]," [18] to which the two women answer, "*E, e,*" and clap. This is followed by the mat carrying (*taki tambakau*), two ladies bearing a mat in the same way as described for the men (p. 73). Then comes the wading present of whales' teeth and other gifts.

In Tumbou, the wading ceremony and calling on one another is done only for the Tui Naiau, his eldest sister, her son, and for the Vunivalu of Mbau or his wife, but not for his family. It is not done for Randi Naiau unless she belongs to Lakemba. In the Southern Islands it is only done for a noble of Tumbou or for their own local chief.

FEASTS

A feast, *mangiti,* is always made for presentation to some one, not to regale oneself. There are raw feasts and cooked feasts. Feasts are never boiled (except sauce for the puddings), but cooked in hot stones; hence a small private feast is often called an oven (*lovo*).

The basis of a feast is taro or yams. Yam feasts are the most common, but not so highly esteemed. If a husband provided only yams at his wedding, the wife would say, "Don't be proud; you had only a yam feast."

Yams are counted by pieces, for instance 16 pieces per clan. Pieces are ends, for the small yams are cut in two, the large ones cut in three and only ends are used because it is not respectful to present the middle; it is like cutting into small pieces for the pot, like bringing them without ceremony. As delicacies pigs are served always at big feasts; beef, fresh or tinned, though less esteemed, is often substituted because easier to procure; fish wrapped in leaves with an outer covering of coconut leaf, the fronds tied together at the ends are provided; also puddings of mashed taro or breadfruit with sugar-cane sauce. As soon as the puddings for a feast are ready, one is quickly taken to Great House for approval; it is called the tip of the oven (*vuso ni lovo*).

When the feast is cooked the food is placed in baskets of plaited coconut leaves; each man hangs a basket on either end of a stick and so carries them on his shoulder to the gathering place.

[18] The green heart tree, *vesi*, is the finest, the most honored in Fiji.

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

INDUSTRIES

AGRICULTURE

YAM GROWING

244

Yam planting was formerly done by "clan statute labor." One field would be planted by the village (*were vakoro*), one by each clan, one by each group of households (*vakavuvale*). For the field of Tui Naiau the whole of Lakemba joined in. If Navuaira did the digging, Natokalau would provide the food while their women got together manufactured articles for a race; or, vice versa. The digging party ran a race for the gifts, though without material reward, for the runners then went home and provided yams to plant; one, a person. The nobles had their field planted by one or two villages, their dependencies. The owner of the field made a feast (*otho* or *ngga ni laulau*) at various stages of the work. When the crops were mature, first fruits were ceremoniously offered.

[526]

[262]

Yams (*uvi*) are the staple food of Lau (Pl. II, *B*). The soil of Lakemba is especially suited to their cultivation. There are many kinds, identified by their shape and by the texture and color of the skin. The true indigenous yams of Lakemba are said to be the *kaumaile*, the *kasokaso*, and true *ndamuni*. The *kaumaile* is recognized as the longest yam and has many varieties—white (*kumaile vula, kaumaile hina*), the longest and best flavored; *kaumaile uli*, red inside, very stout; "the root of the breadfruit," long head and yellow flesh, color of head uneven. The *kasokaso*, recognized as the best flavored, and next in length to *kaumaile*, is noble (*turanga*). The varieties are: *wanu*, some rivalling the *kaumaile* in length and so sturdy that it sometimes flowers when the tuber is large and only when the plant is a good size; *tawake*, the next longest, has a small head; *lavelio* also called *maikeli* after Maikeli Mbaleingau of Levuka, a noted planter; the German *kasokaso*, said to be the same as the *lavelio* and to have been imported, two varieties, one white and thick with pale leaves; the other one is the longer.

[177]

242
244

A Lauan says:

> Dry and breezy soil is good for yams. Damp land is bad because of the breath of the water. It is bad if it is shut in because bad heat is in bad repute (*rongo tha*) with yams; the breath of the soil goes up, so it is either cold or excessively hot; cold is bad when it alternates with heat. Wet soil is bad because it is cold. Yams do well in hard soil; if they strike alluvial soil it is soft and cold. Soils differ according to the year. In a dry year true soil (*nggele ndina*) is best; but in a wet year yams do better in *rasca*, a reddish strong soil of which there is much near Tarukua. Shallow soil is fertile if rain falls; not so deep soil, possibly because of the cold; on

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Lakemba

If the palolo is taken to the country villages a day or two after the catch the country folk say, "It is the palolo of an after-thought," because not knowing whither to take their surplus, the Tumbou people have at last thought of some one on whom to get rid of it; it is therefore a mean dodge to get a feast in return. The phrase has passed into a proverb.

The people of Tumbou proper and of Levuka sometimes bring palolo to the nobles who take it out of the baskets and fill them full of taro and other food.

Formerly palolo was the occasion of a great festival: people put on new loin cloths and skirts. Then there was much palolo; there is not much now.

There is not much fish at the approach of the palolo. The old folk used to say, "The palolo covers the eyes of the fish."

Various villages have some fish or other that swarms at certain seasons and is "bagged" or otherwise caught, and which they call their palolo. The "palolo" of Nukunuku is the *nungga;* of Wathiwathi, the *lairo* crab. In Nasangalau sharks are bagged in the Palolo months. For one month before that it is forbidden to kill sharks. A woman of the clan of Ndreketi knows all about them. She keeps watch as the month of palolo approaches; if she sees signs she calls all the people; then they all go forth with big meshed nets, and sit on the rocks and watch the passage. As the tide begins to flow the sharks come. One or two lie about; as the tide rises their numbers increase. The people prepare to bag them. The woman of Ndreketi stands on a rock. The sharks line up, forty odd big sharks. The net is let down to close the passage; those who are to bag the sharks are to the seaward of them. The woman cries, "To land, to land, that the strangers may see." The sharks come in a bit. "Up with the fin that the strangers may see." The fin is raised. "Let down the fin; the strangers are afraid." The fin disappears. "They are moving towards the land; my calling is finished."

The fish is then bagged. The woman can even cause the fish to get stranded.

In 1909 it did not take place because some one had speared a shark prematurely. These sharks are black and not like other sharks; the taste is not the same. Formerly there was a chief of the sharks, a small white shark. One shark is always taken to Roko Sau.

The *nungga* is bagged in December and in January. It is caught at morning ebb (*mati ruku*) just as the tide is beginning to flow. The *nungga* then follow up the channels towards the land in great quantities and are caught with ordinary nets. The first time it has all to be eaten in Nukunuku; it cannot be taken to another village or it will disappear for good; if a nobleman of Tumbou wants to eat he must come to Nukunuku. The second time it is different. It is supposed it has something to do with spirits (*ka vakatevoro no*).

Turtle Fishing

Turtle is not uncommon. There is a small kind called *mata iri* (fan face) which is like the herald, or retinue of the big turtles. It goes in front of a big turtle: it comes close to the land while the big one is further out at sea. If any one comes near, the small one starts and the big one flies. The following account has been received:

In former days no turtle was cooked outside Tumbou; all that was caught from Ono to Thithia had to come to Tumbou, to Tui Naiau who had it cooked, and sent some of it to whomsoever he pleased. It was strictly forbidden for anyone to eat turtle unless Tui Naiau "gave him the turtle knife." The privilege of eating turtle at will was granted by Roko Taliai to Tione Wesile and his descendants on account of his prowess in destroying the Naivi faction. If Tione Wesile caught only one turtle he would bring it to Tui Naiau; if several he could keep the rest for himself; but if

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Lakemba

Naivi or Vatuwangga catch any it has to be cooked at Big House and from there it is distributed among the nobles.

Turtles are caught on land in the breeding season when they come to lay eggs in the sand at night. The experts go over to a small island, such as Vanua Masi, and watch at night. They tell the time when a turtle will come ashore, not, as in the Solomon Islands by the condition of the previous batch of eggs, but by the moon, which must be full. A Moala man says that whenever he watches for turtle a spirit (*timoni*) appears if there is any turtle; he sees a light; if he is not afraid there is no turtle, but if fear seizes him there is. A Tongan says that in Vanua Masi there are two cairns like truncated cones with the tops beautifully level. These cairns are solid, six feet high by eighteen inches broad. From these cairns comes a sound like a whistle, once if there is one turtle, twice if two. There is also a spring there called *rauran mawi* because water may only be drawn with the left arm.

Turtle is also fished with big nets made of coir rope; the meshes are very large. The net is taken out in a canoe at night and extended in the water wherever they expect to find turtle. The turtle is then driven into the net. The chief fisherman is called *ndau*. These parties go out at the bidding of Roko Sau when some great festival or undertaking is forward. Turtle fishing is a very expensive thing for the chief, because every stage involves gifts. First when the canoe with its freight of turtle comes along the fishermen on board sing as they punt and blow the conch. The people in the village know, and inform the chief; they make preparations; the gifts are set apart with whale's teeth and kava; the feast is made ready, the expecting feast (*kena i waraki*). The conveyers of the turtle are coming; the song of victory runs:

Au sa mate e na liliwa;	I am perished with cold;
Tu me kei thei a tinatina?	For whom is the sow?

The meaning is they are cold and expect to have pig as a relish. A variant is:

Au sa mate e na ndolo;	I am dead with swimming;
Tu me kei thei a vakalolo?	For whom is the pudding?

Thus the fishermen sing what they desire that it may not be refused; they shout (*thimbi*) and stamp on the canoe. They land and tie a rope to each flipper to drag the turtle on its back to Big House. As they drag they shout: *"Vonu e tapate."* The turtle is then offered up in the usual style. That rope by which it was tied involves a gift for unloosening the rope (*i sere ni ndali*); it is presented on behalf of Roko Sau together with other whale's teeth "for piercing the eye" (*i thula ni mata*, a term which cannot be explained) and with kava as an "earnest" (*i sezusesu*). The fishermen then proceed to drink kava; when the feast is cooked and brought, the things they sang about form part of the feast; besides which the men go and eat food in the plantations without leave, and they root up kava; for turtle fishing is somewhat of a noble custom (*ka vakaturanga no*); it is an occasion for some measure of disorder.

Turtles are kept in small circle enclosures (*mbi*) made of stout sticks stuck in the sand below high water mark, until there is enough for a feast; it may be three months. The making of this enclosure involves gifts called *i viri ni mbi*. The enclosure is first made large enough for two or three turtles; if more are caught it means more gifts for the fisherman. There is one presentation called the breaking of the enclosure (*i vbasu ni mbi*). Many things the fishermen do to increase the gifts.

The green fat of the turtles is wrapped in leaves and baked; it is a choice bit.

Yawa Fishing in Mavana

In Mavana is a pond in which there is a fish called *yawa*, flat and as much as a cubit long. One name of the pond is "the *Dracaena* oven" (*lovo vinggai*).

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Lakemba

FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION

Introduction

The basis of diet is yams and taro, to a certain extent breadfruit. These are commonly spoken of as "food," or more precisely "true food" or food "proper"; tasty food eaten with it, whether meat, fish, or pudding, is called *i lava*. To procure a relish for food is one of the chief interests. One advantage of being a wealthy noble is to have a relish daily. Pig is the most highly favored relish.

Formerly the nobles took pigs to some of the Southern Islands to be fed and put a tapu on them (*tambu puaka*). When the pigs were large, the nobles went to the islands to free the pigs from the tapu; or the animals were brought to Lakemba for this purpose, then slaughtered and a feast was made in which the people of the island shared. The few cattle kept are not used for milk.

Stewing

The most common form of cooking is boiling. Yams and taro are plain boiled. On Sundays fish is used for soup (*su*) and is then cooked with coconut cream and greens; the greens are often mixed with *kota*, which is made with grated coconuts and shredded prawns soaked in sea water and allowed to ferment from a day to a week; the vile smell is mitigated by cooking. Prawns and coconut make delicious soup, especially with cress added. Sweet potato leaves are sometimes boiled with coconut cream; young taro leaves so treated form a favorite dish called *pakia*.

Coconut cream is the basis of all tasty cooking; it is used with everything except yams and meat. It is made by grating the flesh on a toothed piece of iron turned up at the end and nailed on a board on which the man sits to grate; the gratings are put into a bowl and strained, like kava, with fibers of *vau*. With coconut cream a sauce called *miti*, for use with fish and yams, is made by pouring lemon juice and sea water on grated coconut and then squeezing the coconut; onions and chillies may be added.

While the husband is away at work all day the wife will sometimes catch prawns or collect shell-fish to make a special evening meal called the awaiting feast (*i wawa*).

Baking

The Fijian oven is of a type universal in the Pacific. It consists of a hole three feet or more in diameter, into which is placed small fuel, then big fuel, topped with stones. While the stones are getting hot, the taro,

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Lakemba

particularly crabs; sea water, including any food from the sea; raw things and cold things, such as coconuts and ripe bananas. At one time when a boy was undergoing a light massage, it was tapu to make kava in the house. Some medicines carry no tapu, for others it lasts during the lifetime of the patient. That which is prohibited is called the *tambu* of the cure, also its *kalou*. At the close of the treatment the patient bathes, "washes off the medicine." Sometimes the bathing takes the form of a fumigation.

Gifts are then presented to the leech and a feast, called the bathing feast (*i silisili*). It is common for a convalescent of Lakemba to go to the Southern Islands, called leading astray (*vakasesea*) or taking the air (*vakathangithangi*). A man will go to his mother's kinsfolk. The low-born do not come to Lakemba when they are ill.

Following are a number of treatments, some of which I witnessed, some I recorded from dictation, others I copied from notebooks kept by natives:

Abscesses and boils.—Boils, while always numerous, are more common in March, when they are called yam boils (*mbo ni uvi*), because the yam matures at that time. An abscess should be allowed to burst, because if lanced it will run to another spot and appear there. Remedies: (a) chop four leaves of *kura* in banana leaf, mix them with oil, rub mixture gently on injured member for about ten minutes, follow by drinking a potion of the liquid. Continue for two days, when the patient bathes; continue for another two days, patient again bathes. Tapu: mangoes, raw things, grated coconut. (b) The following treatment can be carried out only if the abscess has not been lanced: scrape stems of *walinggio*, *kura*, and lemon, and rub on with leaves of *tumandu*. Place in basin a number of wet leaves of *sinu* and of *uthi;* over them place four hot stones. The patient, covered with bark cloth, bends over the basin and remains for some time, when he is uncovered. Wiping off the moisture, he lies down. Following the treatment I witnessed, the remedy for "brain chewing octupus" was applied (p. 165). After one application the first day, the second and third days no medicine was given. On the fourth day the treatment was repeated, and so on until the cure was effected. Tapu: unnecessary talking during treatment; quiet in the house for four days; the removal of any object brought into the house. (c) For boils, heat a *kura* leaf, roll it between the palms of the hands, and apply.

Asthma (*theno*).—No cure was obtained. For shortness of breath, cut and peal a stem of *siti;* useful in a race.

Mberaambete (the priest is late [because before the priest can come, the patient will die]).—A disease on the edge of the abdomen at the lowest ribs; obstructs the stomach. The name of one who possesses a cure is mentioned and the patient falls asleep with the mere talking it over. The leech is brought, who touches the patient, thus effecting a recovery.

Blows (*wai ni motu*).—(a) Scrape *Casuarina* and *Barringtonia*; one reticulum: strain, heat, and drink. Tapu: fermented coconut, lemon, kava, Brazilian plum, raw food. Bathing: fumigate with *uthi* and *waro*, using four stones. (b) Eight leaves of *suvakalou;* make eight potions and eight ointments; a stem of *waleanggio* to scrape and drink as complement of the medicine, using another reticulum. Tapu: kava, lemons, fermented coconut, offal [? ashes on the hair]. Brazilian plum. Bathing: eight stones, candle-nut, a little, but plenty of *matiyavi*. (c) A fruiting branch of *waleanggio*, eight leaves as potion and ointment, and one steam as complement of the potion. On fruiting branch, four stems only should be turned toward the east. Tapu: raw food and fermented pungent food, kava, Brazilian plum. (d) *Tatangia*, the side turned

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Lakemba

757 toward the setting sun. Tapu: raw food and all things in the house. Bathing: four
755 stones, use *uthi* and *waro* leaves.

Conjunctivitis.—A common complaint which sometimes becomes exceedingly painful; often dims or destroys the eyesight. (a) Can be treated by octopus cures (p. 165). (b) Near Rocky Point on the Wathiwathi side is a pool of clear water, into which people plunge with open eyes.

True *nda*, nature not clear.—From eight plants (those remembered were *kulukulu*, *thangolaya*, *yalu*) take eight twigs with eight leaves only; chop leaves in oil, place on a leaf of *saivula* banana, heated on coals, rub on body; scrape and strain the stems together, and drink the potion.

Nda vulu.—A kind of abscess which is hard and painless so long as that part of the body is not moved. It moves about for a time without change, then bursts. No remedy obtained.

Nda indro (from *indro*, a disease caused by witchcraft) produces swellings, very painful.—There are various kinds of this disease, to ascertain which the leech strokes with the hand. In one kind the body itches and swells, and the swelling spreads; small pimples appear; the whole body swells up to the face, the genitals are affected, and if not dealt with promptly causes death. (a) For this type the treatment for true *nda* is applied. (b) Cut into equal size, eight twigs each of *kulukulu*, *yanggoyanggona*, and *thangolaya*; scrape only the lower part and strain into one reticulum. Divide into eight parts and warm in leaves of *saivula* banana, tie with *wa ndina*. Tapu: salt
[262] water, taro, and cocomut. Bathing: heat eight stones, add ointment; throw into the sea (this should be done at dawn or sunset that the potion may not be wrapped with the patient's shadow).

Ndazuka.—Tokatolu leaves; the potion is the stem; *vesivesi wai* to be eaten with it
[262] (*i thoi*). Tapu: raw food. Bath: use potion.

Ndranumi (to wash in fresh water after sea bathing).—Believed to be used for convalescence. Remedies taken from a Moala note-book: (a) Two leaves each of *yanggoyanggona* and *mulokaka*. The leaves of *mulokaka* should be innermost, the top shoot (*uzuna*) only; it should be wrapped in leaves of *yanggoyanggona*, and then wrapped in a coconut leaf and eaten. No tapu. (b) Take four leaves each of *losilosi* and *totondro ni lingau*, place them one on top of the other, roll them up and eat. No tapu. (c) Take two leaves of *mboimboinda*, turn them tip to stem, roll them up, bite and eat the bit that remains. No tapu. (d) Take four leaves of *yaka mei ra kalavo* in pairs. No tapu. (e) Take four leaves of *sasanggalu* in pairs and eat. No tapu. (f) Take four leaves of *soni*; pick them with the right hand and eat on the right side; let not the left hand touch it. No tapu. (g) Take leaves of *waroka*, four leaves of *molau*, roll up together and eat. No tapu.

Elephantiasis.—Very common in Tumbou, is called by a Tongan name *fua*. When it attacks the testicles it is called *thele*. One elderly man cut out everything, including the testicles, and survived. In the old days all had elephantiasis, the young men attributed it to going out early in the dew, and so gave up this practice.

Wangganggu.—A very common fever, begins with rigors, involves swellings in the arms or legs, where the skin becomes reddish. The fever often repeated leads to elephantiasis; of this the natives are aware, whether from observation or because Europeans have told them. The term is perhaps applied to other fevers. The disease *wangganggu* is not serious so long as it affects the whole body, but if it drops to the belly, it causes swelling and is fatal. Remedy from Wainggori, Oneata: (a) Pick from the tree two coconuts, carry them down without letting them fall, beat the husk of one in order to squeeze it, then bring the second and use it [its milk] to water the juice of the first and give it to drink; then get banyan leaves, four, and a fifth, the four being in pairs; pound them and prepare water and squeeze them in it. Have patient drink potion, four consecutive days, three times a day. Tapu: pig for four
[262] days, fish also, but not turtle, which is reckoned as shell fish (*vivili*).

Fever.—The English word fever is used by the Lauans, who say it is a white man's disease, that formerly Fijians were strong-blooded, but now they are chilly and

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Lakemba

get fever. They evidently mean by fever not any rise of temperature, bit dengue and similar attacks. 757 755

Imbewalu (eight mats).—So named because with this disease the sick man is confined so long that eight mats have rotted and been removed; then it will be known whether he will live or die. The seat of the disease is in the buttocks which swell and remain swollen; sometimes they rot (*popo*). It is said to be due to witchcraft.

I wawa (waiting remedy) or *i vakatawa, locum tenens.*—[Presumably this is a preliminary treatment, it may be for convalescence.] Strain leaves of *sinu nganga;* then drink. No tapu.

Karaki ndra.—The steam of a *saivula* banana sucker, and the stems of *waro* and *cuucu,* scrape these two together and wrap all three together in a reticuum.

Kasi.—The nature of *kasi* is not clear. There are at least three varieties: blood *kasi* (*kasi ndra*), swelling disease, accompanied by local inflammation; white man's *kasi* (*kasi ni papalangi*). Said by one informant to be *kasi ndra*; by another to appear in the buttocks and differ from *imbe walu* in not being serious; *kai ndro* [probably believed to be due to witchcraft]. The Moala notebook describes it thus: "This disease arises with coughing; it is a throbbing pain [*? langa*] in the rib and reaches the back." Remedy, strain *selekaleka* in a taro swamp with two leaves of *sikavi loa* as a cup. Tapu: sea water and red things.

Madness.—The theory that madness is due to a spirit carrying of the soul is dealt with on page 187. Melaia's views on madness are as follows: 158

There have been three madmen in Yandrana: Taikiko and the brothes Tukeli and Suka. Tukeli used to plant taro at low tide below high water mark. Suka went about naked; he had many sisters, yet he would put on no clothes. He once hit a young lady of Tumbou on the head; a leech sucked the blood from he wound and the people of Yandrana made a supplication (*soro*) to Tumbou. Taikiko married a very old woman and his madness grew up in him, whether she was the cause of his madness or whether spirits (*tevoro*) ate his soul. Why he married her? Probably the madness was coming on. They are all the same in that family. Perhaps a madman was their ancestor (*tupua*); perhaps their god (*tevoro*) was created ma, since madness does not leave them. Perhaps they took the earth of oven holes for heir ointment or to bathe in, for they lay in oven holes. Ratu Meli was mad at one time and it is said there was a disease in his forehead which went down and, as it were, covered his eyes. 828

Mathake.—The result of sweet food, affects only certain persons. 755

Constipation.—Remedy: scrape *mboimboinda,* chew *nde ni singa;* drink once only. Tapu: sweet food. 757 [264]

Mara.—A disease of the joints; the skin cracks if the disease lass long, may cause deformed noses (*uthu tha*). Emosi claims it is his disease:

I merely touch the wrist and he recovers. It is a hereditary disease,[1] it is mine I know it; it is not like others who know only it is their disease because hey massage it and in time the patient gets better; I know it by touch; I am on the lookout (*vakarongotha*); that disease will jump on to my hand, and I know it ismine; when I touch the wrist it leaps upon me; it is very painful to me. There ae no leaves, merely one called *vono ni vuthe* to massage with (*i yamo*). This massage s hereditary. If the parents die while the child has as yet no understanding, he will sill know the cure when he grows up. All my family know it.

Misungga.—Remedy from the Moala notebook: scrape Brazilian plum nd Tahitian chestnut; water with two red coconuts which must not be dropped on theground, but must be carried down from the tree, . . . and pour on the leaves. Tapu: cohabitation, salt water, and sweets. [262 89+]

Octopus (*kuita*).—Apparently a general name for disease: which invcves a widespread pain as in headache and neuralgia; specific names given are: peeing octopus, (*kuita iro*) is like an octopus peeping from its hole; in it the pain come about four in the afternoon; shut octopus (*kuita songosongo*); strayed octopus (*kuita siri*), brain

[1] The knowledge of it is hereditary.

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Lakemba

chewing octopus (*kuita ngguru moyā*) (only a name, it is not seen); coir octopus (*kuita mangimangi*); witchcraft octopus (*kuita i ndro*). First one remedy, then another is tried. Some octopus diseases devour the belly; if a mother has pains in the abdomen after child-birth it is octopus; the leech comes, massages her, the patient finds relief, then a remedy is sought. One boy got night octopus (*kuita mbongi*) which hurts in the morning and leaves off in the evening. He said he had eaten an octopus some time before and shortly after the pain began. Remedy: four sticks of *kulukulu*, also called *mamakove*, scraped on a reticulum, wrap the scrapings up, and squeeze them into a cup, the patient drinks part and is rubbed with the rest. Tapu: octopus.

One remedy for brain-munching octopus is called *wiriwiri* or *vīriri*, a term connected with the witchcraft. The method I saw was as follows: The patient was lying down. Sitting at the patient's head the leech pressed eight leaves of *waro* on the right ear, then squeezed them into the nose (*ndangi*); keeping the hand against one side of the face, he massaged (*mbombo*) alternately the opposite side of the face with the root of the other hand, the fingers on the nose. Then he pressed the temples. If effective, it is repeated four times: *waro* leaves are used on the first and second days; eight lemon leaves on the third and fourth days. The lemon leaves are chewed, spat into a leaf of Tahitian chestnut, rolled up in it and pinned with a bit of reed; they are pressed into the ears and nose and sniffed in. If the treatment is not effective after three applications, the steaming treatment described on page 163 is tried. Tapu: octopus and noise.

One kind of octopus affects the eyes and makes them squint. The head has neuralgia (*? sasala*) which goes down to the eyes and injures them. It is called octopus because the octopus is neuralgic (?). The remedy is: Take a number of leaves of pig's hoof (*i taukuku ni puaka*); wrap them up in a leaf of *kura*, warm on embers which should not be stirred into a flame; add oil, cover the patient and steam him. Given twice a day, morning and evening, for four days; after which the patient bathes. Tapu: salt food, raw food.

Kuita tambaki-ndua, one-sided octopus.—Take four leaves of *lawere*, chew, then put into the reticulum, four leaves of banyan . . . .; chew likewise and put into same reticulum. If it is the left side that pains, pick with the left hand; after picking throw the hand four times behind the back, then chew; if his right side pains, then pluck with the right hand, and then chew afterwards and put into the reticulum. Tapu: salt water, taro, red things, coconuts, bathing in the sea.

Organic diseases.—Certain diseases are known as *mbatha ngathangatha*, diseases of the viscera. One old man discussing consumption, which is rampant in Lau, thinks organic diseases are common in Lau because it is a sweet-toothed country, eating much pudding; it is otherwise in the West. Consumption is a new disease and the natives know about it only what Europeans have told them.

Ramberambe tu i-kete (kicking situated in the belly).—A serious disease; it has many ways of attack, usually arising at the top of the thigh, moving to the belly; one arises in the throat and then goes on to the belly; one arises in the center of the belly and extends to the pit of the stomach. One man says it is the same as belly ache (*mosi ni-kete*). It is treated with remedies for the belly; if one fails, another is tried. Remedy: Five leaves of *mborete* and six of *scnitoa;* strain and pound, then drink. An ointment of chewed *losilosi* leaves, smeared on the hand, and so massage; lotion: leaves of *matiyavi* to be used on the belly. Tapu: *matu* fish and *saīnula* banana.

Ruptures (*ramusu*).—The term rupture covers a wide range since Lauans see a break wherever there is a sprain, or a mere strain or stiffness. In a case of stiffness or pain in the hip the leech explained that it was not the bone but the *ua* that was affected. The term *ua* includes tendons, muscles, and blood vessels.

Remedies: (a) A hereditary treatment of deep massage with hands oiled. No tapu. (b) From the Moala notebook: one *ndenimana* to be broken into . . . parts each exactly 3 spans long; break two twigs of greenheart of India into two parts, each 1 span 3 inches long; a mangrove root, one which is young and does not reach the water; break off the tip and break the remainder into two parts of 1 span, 3

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Lakemba

643 then when Ndranivia usurped he seized the state-basket in which were the treasures of the land.

The title Sau occurs in the expression *sautu*, peace, prosperity.

MEDICINE

753 171 The group of diseases called by names of animals are the most transparent. The same diseases, octopus and snake, are found in Eddystone, Solomon Islands; there the animal is a spirit that abides in the person and causes the trouble. In Samoa if a man ate the incarnation of his own particular god, that god "was supposed to avenge the insult by taking up his abode in that person's body and causing to generate there the very thing he had eaten" (15, p. 17).

753 262 In Lau, the octopus disease may be contracted by eating octopus, and the patient is not allowed to eat octopus. However the Lauans may deny it then, it can be confidently asserted that the food tapu to a patient is called "the spirit of the cure," because the spirit which causes and cures the disease abides in it, and therefore it may not be eaten. Samoa has preserved the theory; Lau has lost it.

757 754 177 In Lau, most cures exist apart from the art of producing them; but it was held that those who knew how to cure the effects of witchcraft also knew how to kill. That reverts to a state of things found in Eddystone of the Solomon Islands, where every cure is part of a system consisting of: (a) charm to produce the disease in whomever steals the fruit of a tree; (b) removal of that charm; (c) cure of the disease. It appears to have been much the same of old in Lau, since Semi says that then they had charms in every grove of coconut palms. But whereas in Lau the charms were buried, in Eddystone they are hung on trees or sticks, as was done in Tonga.

TRIBAL ANIMAL

776 Thekena, Waitambu, and Vakano call their children rats. Thekena and Waitambu say it is because of the jealousy of the Two Ladies who will not allow any but their own children to be called children; but the Vakano people are nearer the truth when they say it is by reason of their rat-god. It would seem then as if these people formerly identified themselves with their god.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

131 north and south along the eastern margin of the Fiji group. The Lau Islands lie at the meeting point of two culture areas, Melanesia on the west and Polynesia on the east (fig. 1, insert). Moreover these small islands in the central Pacific define the eastern border of the submarine shelf, which extends from Asia eastward into Oceania, and mark a change from continental to insular geological formation and a corresponding transition in flora and fauna. The island world west of Lau is more compact than that east of the archipelago and the flora and fauna are richer.

131 The southern Lau Islands (fig. 2) are: Oneata; Mothe; the Kambara
631 group composed of Kambara, Namuka-i-Lau (Namuka), and Komo; the Fulanga group composed of Fulanga and Ongea; and the Ono group composed of Ono-i-Lau (Ono) and Vatoa. They are part of the chiefdom of Lakemba, which also includes the islands of Lakemba, Naiau, and Thithia in central Lau. The islands of both central and southern Lau are subject to the high chief at Lakemba.

North of the chiefdom of Lakemba lie the Exploring Isles, formerly subject to Thakaundrove on Vanua Levu; and on the west lies the independent Moala group consisting of Totoya, Moala, Matuku, and Vanua Vatu. The chiefdom of Lakemba, the Exploring Isles, and the Moala group comprise the colonial political province of Lau. To the natives, however, only the islands south of Lakemba, excluding the Moala group, are known as Lau.

133 Based on differences in geological formation, the Lau Islands may be divided into three groups: volcanic islands, limestone islands, and islands composed of both limestone and volcanic rocks. Of the important islands in the chiefdom of Lakemba, Mothe, Komo, and Thithia are volcanic; Lakemba, Kambara, Oneata and Ono are composed of limestone and volcanic rocks; and Wangava, Fulanga, Ongea, and Vatoa are composed wholly of limestone. These geological differences form the basis of economic life in southern Lau. The natural resources of the three rock types are supplementary and the group is economically interdependent.

The volcanic islands rise from sandy beaches toward a central ridge or hill. Their grassy slopes are forest free, and streams flow through their fertile valleys. They are rich in garden lands which grow yams, taro, manioc, breadfruit, bananas, papaya, and other tropical fruits in abundance, but they lack the forest resources of the limestone islands.

133 The limestone islands are characterized by a heavily forested limestone
262 basin. Small pockets of poor soil, on which yams and taro do not grow well,
[134] serve as garden lands. The staple food is manioc, supplemented on some islands by sweet potato, on others by breadfruit, and by roots, nuts, leaves, and fruit from the jungle. With the introduction of manioc and sweet potatoes in recent times, the inhabitants have become gardeners. The limestone islands

[Text continues on p. 12 - Analyst]

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

have calm, shallow lagoons, abounding in fish and shellfish which are an important part of the diet. Most of these islands are deficient in food but rich in timber and jungle produce which provide the raw materials for their industries.

Lau has a tropical climate. During the dry season, which lasts from April to October, the cooling southeast trades blow regularly and the seas are calm. An extensive interisland canoe traffic is carried on during these months. The remainder of the year is rainy and warm with irregular winds, especially during the "hurricane" months of January, February, and March. Fortunately hurricanes are infrequent. Drought is a constant menace on the limestone islands, for rain is quickly absorbed by the sharp, porous limestone. There are no streams and practically all the fresh water used by the natives must be collected in tanks and utensils. On each island there are a few water holes which are usually brackish, but the native technique of living requires little fresh water.

The population of the islands is concentrated in coast villages. Each village is located on a sandy flat along the beach and is usually surrounded by a coconut grove. Frequently the site is planted with breadfruit trees. Usually the village land is divided into strips, which run from the beach to the cliffs; and each strip is owned and occupied by a clan (*matanggali*, formerly a hamlet in garden land or bush clearing, see p. 35). The clans of highest rank occupy the center of the village. Their houses dominate the ceremonial ground (*rara*), where village feasts are distributed and ceremonies, dances, and games are held.

A description of the islands and villages which were studied follows.

Kambara

Kambara is a basin-shaped mass of limestone, about 4.5 miles long and 3 miles wide. The rim of the basin is an irregular ridge about 60 meters high. Here and there the precipitous, seaward cliff falls away, giving space to a sand flat grown with coconut palms. On such flats are situated the four villages of the island: Tokalau, Lomatchi, Nggalinggali, and Undu. Kambara is nearly surrounded by a coral reef which breaks on the northwest coast, providing the only anchorage. The village of Tokalau is located opposite the anchorage.

Kambara combines the natural resources of both volcanic and limestone islands. The heavily forested interior of the island is honeycombed with pits and caverns. Pockets of red, residual soil of an acre or so are cultivated on the eastern edge of the basin and in the center where the elevation is only about 24.4 meters. A volcanic outcrop, Ndelaioloi, rising in the northwest part of the island to a height of 143.3 meters, provides the island's best soil, and here most of the gardens are located. The main garden products are manioc and sweet potato. A coarse quality of pandanus grows on Kambara. The principal

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

796 272 The procedure is simple on less formal occasions, such as marriage or death feasts for individuals in the village. The kava is prepared either by young men or by girls. Sometimes the kava maker and the cup bearer are girls and the kava chewers are men. In olden days kava was prepared and drunk by men only. Today it is occasionally drunk by women in southern Lau. The assistants at the bowl are frequently absent. Occasionally the bowl has several legs or no legs at all. It is not raised for inspection by the herald before water is added, the hands are not examined, and the mixture is tested, after being strained, by being poured into the bowl from a raised cup. The tabus pertaining to the straining process are not observed, and the drinking order is not fixed, nor is it called by the herald. The men in the kava circle [372 276] usually smoke between rounds. To light his cigarette, which is leaf tobacco rolled in a dried banana leaf (*suluka*), each has placed before him a burning brand.

Occasionally a few individuals hold a kava party in the very early morning called *pongipongi*. Lauans say this is a Tongan custom.

FEASTS

796 527 Every important ceremony is marked by a feast, which is presented by one group to another, divided into shares, and distributed according to rank to both recipients and donors. Feasts vary in size and quality of food according to the rank of the recipients and the resources of the donors. Food for most feasts differs from that of the daily meal only in the larger quantity for each individual and in the addition of a sweet pudding for each. Communal fishing which provides fish for the feast usually yields more and larger fish than are caught daily by the women. Turtle and pig are great delicacies served [262] only at important feasts for high ranking persons. Turtle is considered the most chiefly food.

252 71 In Lau important feasts are steamed in the earth oven (pl. 2, *A*) by men, while small feasts, eaten in the morning, are boiled by women. In contrast to the daily use of the earth oven in Lau (p. 153) it is used only for feasts in the interior of Viti Levu.

The cooked food for a large feast is placed on the village ceremonial ground or outside the house of the recipient and is presented according to the usual ceremony (pp. 65-66) by one of the donors. A small feast is divided outside the house of the donor. Coconut leaves are spread on the ground and the food from the oven is piled upon them. Freshly plaited coconut-leaf baskets, one for each household, are arranged in a circle around the food. The food is shared according to households and distributed by the host. At a large feast the food is distributed according to clans under the direction of the chief of crops or the chief of the ceremonial ground. True food (*kana ntchina*), namely garden produce, is distributed first, then puddings, fish, turtle,

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

769 778 618 species of natural phenomena, that is trees, fish, and birds. At least half of the clans studied claimed possession of three species: a species of fish, bird, and tree. The remainder of the clans claimed one or two species, or said they had forgotten their species. Each species was regarded as clan property, sacred to the owners and respected by members of other clans. The natives believed that the soul (*yalo*) of the clan ancestor god appeared in the form of a specific fish or bird of the species owned by the clan. Therefore members [262] of the clan must not harm a member of the clan species. Informants agree that eating one would be like eating one of themselves and would cause the person doing so to become ill and die. They must propitiate the incarnation with offerings of food and kava. It is difficult to obtain information concerning clan animals and plants because many customs concerning them are no [552] longer strictly observed. Moreover, there is a tabu on their names. The generic name of the species belonging to a clan may not be uttered by members of another clan in the presence of the owners. Formerly if a member of another clan mentioned the names of a clan's incarnations in the presence of the owners he was eaten by them. However, each clan species has a title which is not tabu.

The main forefather of the Vuanikathu clan on Kambara was Lekutu Levu (Big Bush), a war god, formerly worshipped by the clan priest in the temple called Nai Langa Mbakola. He was propitiated with human sacrifices in the form of *mbakola* (human bodies to be eaten), with kava and first fruits. Lekutu Levu was consulted by the priest before a clan raid. The Vuanikathu [726 539] warriors, when threatening to attack a village, would sing:

Sa vura ko Lekutu Levu! — The people of Lekutu Levu are coming!
Toko luvemu! — Hide your children!
Toko luvemu! — Hide your children!

The god of the Vuanikathu clan was incarnated in the *mavinda (Erythrospermum polyandrum)* tree, the barracuda (*ongo*), and the *kaisevou* (a yellow-breasted bird). On Kambara the *mavinda* tree grows only at Longa Mavinda in the bush behind Naikeleanga on land belonging to the Vuanikathu clan. Vuanikathu keeps the land clear under the trees. The *mavinda* does not bear edible fruit but its fragrant flowers may not be picked or worn in wreaths. Even today a member of Vuanikathu may not catch or eat a barracuda. The clan members formerly prayed to the barracuda, not in the god house, but in the dwelling house. *Kaisevou* birds are caught by clan members, rubbed with a piece of barkcloth soaked in perfumed coconut oil and then released. The bird does not nest on Kambara today, but it occasionally comes from the neighboring island of Wangava, where it is common.

The forefather of Mbutonikoro clan of the chiefs' group on Mothe, according to the clan headman, was Ului Lakemba who came to the island six

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

222 the islands. Today the leaves of the cultivated sweet potato are also eaten. The stems, with the leaves adhering, are broken from the plants and placed in baskets which are strapped to the back in the same way as bundles of wood (p. 151).

Fruits, especially those eaten raw, are usually gathered by boys, but the *ndawa*, the Tahitian chestnut (*iri*), and the *vala* are gathered under the supervision of grown men. On all the islands the Tahitian chestnut and *vala* are gathered and esteemed highly. In harvesting the *vala*, care is taken not to [48] harm the trees. Boys climb the tree and push or twist off the fruit clusters with a straight or a forked stick. The men gather them from the ground and boys or men carry them home in baskets on a stick resting on the shoulder. [482] Usually two baskets are carried on one stick, one behind, the other in front of the shoulder. The lower branches of the Tahitian chestnut tree are picked by hand. The upper branches are picked from the ground with a stick, or a boy climbs the tree to shake the branches and loosen the nuts with a stick.

222 Other fruits gathered from the bush are: *yaka* (*Pueraria thunbergiana*), *yaumitha (Malaisia scandens)*, *yangai*, *tarai*, important especially on Fulanga; ●262 *songa* (the fruit of the mangrove) eaten on Fulanga and Ongea, *mbau levu*, *mbau thana*, preferred to the larger *mbau levu* because of its sweetness, *mbawaki*, and *nggalaka*.

[261] Arrowroot (*yambia*, *Tacca pinnatifida*), the tuber of which was formerly the staple on the volcanic islands, is eaten only in years of drought, except on Fulanga and Ongea, where it is eaten often. The arrowroot does not grow on Kambara.

[261] The *wangiri* nut, formerly the staple on the limestone islands and Kambara, is eaten occasionally on Fulanga and Ongea, but elsewhere only in times of famine. It does not grow on the volcanic islands.

[263] Sugar, extracted from wild ti root, is used to sweeten puddings.

Yavato, an edible grub (the larva of the long-horned prionid beetle, *Olethrius*) found in decaying trees, is highly prized. Men search for grubs in old tree trunks lying in the bush. On Kambara I watched a European-Fijian half-caste searching for grubs. The saliva ran from his mouth when he found an old trunk with many holes eaten into the wood. Roughly he cleaned off the dust of decaying, moulding wood with his hands and hastily ate 46 grubs.

The coconut crab (*unga vule*) is considered a great delicacy. The crab, which weighs up to 12 pounds, is caught by men who turn it on its back and [482] tie vines around it so that the legs are lashed to the body. A stick is pushed under the vine and the crab is slung on the shoulder.

Birds' eggs are never gathered or eaten, but turtles' eggs, found on the beach, are relished.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

226 In deeper pools they are poisoned. So that the waters will not be depleted the fish from the ponds are used only for special occasions, such as birth and death feasts, and installations.

Mothe has two creeks, each about 5 meters wide. Formerly, Mothe people caught many fish at the mouths of these creeks which empty into the lagoon, but they do not use this method today. At high tide the mouths of the creeks are deepened by sea water which brings the fish into the otherwise shallow creeks. The mouths are easily closed to hold the fish when the water has retreated. Other fish gather outside the wall and are speared during high tide.

SHELL FISHING

[262] Shell fishing is common on Fulanga where the floor of the lagoon seems paved with shellfish, which Fulangans seem to prefer to other fish. Daily the women are seen diving for shellfish. It is hard labor, requiring deep and long diving. Their faces blackened with soot, and equipped with a pointed, hard wood stick about 30 cm. long, women separate in the lagoon and swim about slowly. Before a woman dives, she breathes deeply, and under water she looks through her protecting glasses for shells adhering to the rocks. She [483] pries them off the rock with the stick and puts them into a basket tied around her waist. She stays under water two or three minutes.

A bivalve shellfish, called *kekewa*, is found only on the northwest side of Wangava lake at the entrance to a cave called Nggaranikekewa. It is a delicacy gladly accepted all over Lau in exchange for other produce. *Kekewa* fishing is done only by women at low tide.

MBALOLO

A sea worm (*Nereis*), living at the bottom of parts of the reef in Lau, periodically frees reproductive segments (*mbalolo*), greenish in color, about 15 cm. long and not thicker than 3 mm. Once during November the lagoon is filled with the *mbalolo*, while in October fewer usually appear. Hence October is called *vulai mbalolo lailai* (moon of few *mbalolo*) and November *vulai mbalolo levu* (moon of many *mbalolo*). As soon as someone discovers them he calls, "Mbalolo, mbalolo!" The village grows excited and men, women, and children run into the lagoon to drag baskets through the water. *Mbalolo* is either baked or boiled and served at a village feast.

LOBSTERS

In the lagoon near Marambo Island, which belongs to Undu, lobsters (*ura ni vai tui*) are picked out of the holes and shallow places at low tide.

SQUID LURING

The squid lure (*taukuita*), which is used only on Mothe, is similar in type to that of Samoa (described by Buck, 2, pp. 434-437).

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Sweet potatoes are harvested three or four months after planting. The gardener takes out only those that seem fully grown and puts them into a basket. The partly exposed roots are covered with soil again, and the undeveloped potatoes are left to ripen. If a whole plant is taken out he often pinches off a twig and immediately plants it on the spot where it has been growing.

Yams

The varieties of yams (*uvi, Dioscorea*) found in Lau are: *kasokaso* (the most chiefly yam in Lau; a few on Kambara, none on Mothe), *kaumaile* (longest of all yams), *ndamuni* (on Mothe and Kambara), *matasi, veavea, siva mbalavu, poa, loutolu, taniela, vakathaiyanggona, tchikonotchivaro, rauva, tamboani, tua, muala, tambuakara, tambua ndrokandroka, volimbalavu, volileka* (most of the Namuka yams are of the last variety, which is considered a fine yam); *uvi ni Foatuna* (yam of Futuna), *rauitchi, vurai, ndakulevu, lokaloka, masoa, tambu tatavu.* The *tchivoli* (wild yam) is delicious but small.

Hocart (15, p. 102) writes: "Yams are the staple food of Lau. . . . The soil of Lakemba is especially suited to their cultivation." Yam is the staple on Lakemba, but on Kambara, Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava it is little cultivated. In 1933-34 there was on Kambara one yam patch covering about 50 square meters. The harvest brought 300 pounds of yams at best, but the Kambarans say they usually have fewer yams. Fulanga and Ongea grow yams occasionally, but a few wild yams are found in the bush. These non-yam growing islands do not import yams unless a visiting relative from elsewhere brings a few for his host. On Mothe and Namuka yam ranks third in importance as a food.

Setareki of Mothe explained:

> Our land is good, yams will grow very well, but they demand too much work. The soil must be worked thoroughly, it must be kept clear of weeds. If we plant manioc or sweet potatoes we need to clean the land only once, for they branch quickly and keep down the wild grasses without our help. Then, too, the harvest of potato and manioc is easy, but the yam must be dug out of the deep soil. Furthermore, with manioc or sweet potato, we need to plant only a branch or a twig, which otherwise would be thrown away, while with yam we have to put into the ground what we have taken out before, a perfectly good yam, perfectly fit to be eaten. That is bad.

Sweet yams are never called *uvi* (yam) by the natives; one always hears *kauvai* (*Dioscorea aculeata*) or *kaile*, the name of a sweetish yam which now is rarely found.

According to Moto, as the sweet yam harvest was taken from the ground one yam or a piece of one was planted again on the same spot. Sometimes a piece or a few pieces were taken nearer to the hamlet and planted there, but the natives never made sweet yam gardens. However, sweet yam is said to have

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

PREPARATION OF FOOD

In Lau there is one main meal a day which is eaten just after sundown. Left over food is eaten cold the next morning. In general, however, the Lauan eats throughout the day whatever he can find in the bush. Sometimes a morning meal is prepared and eaten between nine and eleven o'clock. Occasionally when the men are working in the village women boil a pot of manioc for them. When they are in the garden, however, the men often prepare garden produce in an earth oven for a morning meal. A man for whom communal work is done provides a small morning feast for the workers.

Most of the activities of each day are directed toward procuring enough food for the evening meal. During the greater part of the year on most islands the evening meal consists of steamed manioc, sweet potato, or breadfruit, and greens boiled in coconut cream with or without fish. If there is no fish or meat the meal is considered poor.

From one to three closely related households within the same clan or subclan form a food group. They share a kitchen hut (kitchen huts have been introduced by the colonial government) and an earth oven, and prepare and eat their food together. Cooking arrangements may be shared by a household consisting of a man, his wife, and their children and another household of a married son, his wife, and their children. Or they may be shared by a household consisting of a man, his wife, and their children and another household consisting of the man's widowed sister and her children. (See table 1 and figure 3, K14, 15 and K19, 20.) Occasionally a single household has its own kitchen hut and earth oven (table 1; figure 3, K16, K21). Boiling was formerly done in the dwelling house on the hearth.

There is a strict sex division of labor in regard to the preparation of food in Lau, and there is a general division in the type of food prepared by each sex. Usually the men cook the food they have raised, such as garden produce, while the women cook the greens and fish they have procured. The men do the major part of the cooking including all the steaming, roasting, boiling with hot stones, preparing sweet puddings, and fermenting in salt water. The women do all the boiling in pots and fermenting by burial in the ground.

Fuel for the kitchen is gathered in the bush by the adolescent girls of each food group. The bundle of wood is strapped to the back by means of native rope. The rope is looped over the shoulder and under each arm and crossed over the bundle behind.

The cooking places of men and women are separate. The women do all their cooking in kitchen huts, usually located near the sleeping houses with which they are associated. The men use the earth ovens located on the edge of the village. The location and communal use of kitchens and earth ovens in Tokalau is shown in figure 3 (table 1). Women or uncircumcized boys are

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

134 by extensive collecting from jungles and reefs, and by regular
222 fishing in the lagoons. Of the group, Fulanga has the least soil. The natives say this is because the first inhabitant of
[173] Fulanga was a hen. She had some chicks and when the chicks were hungry she said: "Why don't you scratch?" So they scratched and scratched and finally they scratched the bottom out of the land. The chicks are the people of Fulanga and
[103] the jagged pock-marked island is called Vanua Seu or scratched land.

773 Kambara differs from the other famine isles in that its
134 volcanic outcrop provides a limited amount of good garden land. When the great forefather god of the Kambara people arrived he looked over the whole island and saw nothing but rocks. So he thought to himself he would go to another island and steal a piece of land, for the gods love nothing better than to trick one another. He went to the islands of the Lau group, but each island was guarded by its own forefather god. Finally he arrived at Vatoa. The forefather of this island was asleep. So the forefather of Kambara dug
[823] up a piece of land. A spring gushed forth from the hole. He put the land into a basket and took it to Kambara. When he arrived he found that the people of Kambara had baked a piece of land he had previously stolen and made it useless for gardening. He was very angry and placed the land from Vatoa on the side of Kambara (instead of in the middle as on the volcanic islands). On all Kambara this is the only
[823] garden land, and when the water of the spring in Vatoa is dirty the people know yams are being planted on Kambara.

264 Provision for the evening meal is a daily problem requiring foresight and labor. The Lauans eat one main meal a day just after sundown when the day's work is done. The
252 main food consists of a carbohydrate (called "true food")
[262] such as manioc, sweet potato, or breadfruit gathered, prepared, and steamed in the earth oven by the men. The earth oven is a pit in the ground in which the food is placed over hot

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

136 all the shellfish in a basket, which he took to Kambara and
773 presented to the god. Meanwhile the Kambara god gleefully had gathered all the mosquitoes on the island in a basket, which he gave in return for the shellfish. Only when the god of Oneata opened the basket on his own island and the swarm of mosquitoes began to bite did he realize that he had been tricked. Since that time Oneata has had mosquitoes and the people of Kambara have had the shellfish.

132 The rainy months constitute the main growing season in
241 Lau, and from December to April the harvest is gathered. Yams and taro, the staples of Fiji, do not grow on the famine
[177] isles, but tapioca, which has become the staple of the southern islands since its introduction from South America in recent times, may be cut or planted at any time of the year. Hence it conveniently supplements the seasonal crops such as sweet potato, breadfruit, Tahitian chestnut (*Inocarpus edulis*) and other tropical fruits, and provides a source of food between harvests.

136 Compensating for poor garden lands, the limestone islands
226 have calm, shallow, reef-fringed lagoons which shelter fisherfolk and their small canoes from the open sea. So plentiful is the supply of fish and shellfish in the lagoons that practically no deep sea fishing is attempted, although barracuda and other large sea fish are plentiful in Lauan waters.

225 The large sea turtle, which grows to a weight of over two
262 hundred pounds in Lau, is considered the greatest sea delicacy. No one who has chased this darting prey the length of a lagoon with a group of canoes can forget the thrill of a turtle hunt. It is one of the greatest sports in Lau. Inasmuch as turtle is food for chiefs and nobles, turtle hunting, breeding, netting, and preparation are protected by special tabus and
262 rites, and the flesh is eaten only at feasts. Pigs, the only large
231 mammals in the group, are also relished. They are of the gawky, South Sea type with funny long legs and razor backs, but of excellent flavor when steamed in the earth oven.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Formerly when they were allowed free run in the villages each household owned a goodly number and pork was eaten frequently. However, since pigs must be kept in pens according to government regulation and fed daily, their number has dwindled. Now pork is rarely served except at a feast for a visiting government official or a wedding of considerable importance. While in southern Lau, I was served pork only three times.

Although shining copper-green jungle fowl and grey-blue doves abound in the forests they are rarely eaten, for the natives are forbidden by colonial regulation to possess firearms and they have not adequate means or energy to trap them. One of the few jungle fowl traps I saw on Kambara had been placed in a tree laden with bright red berries on which the fowl feed. The trapper had hopefully put a sprig of berries in the trap and could not understand why no fowl were ensnared. Each household has a few domestic fowl which must be fed regularly. Native custom does not admit the eating of chicken eggs, but the flesh adds an important source of protein to the monotonous native diet.

Great grotesque coconut crabs lurk in the limestone crevices under the palms, but they are so difficult to find that they are seldom eaten. I tasted this delicious South Sea food only once. While examining an old fortress site near the highest point on Wangava we caught sight of a giant crab, weighing at least ten pounds, sidling over the jagged rocks at the foot of a lone and aged coconut palm. The native boys pounced upon the ferocious creature and, gleefully anticipating the evening's feast, lashed it to a pole, which one of them slung over his shoulder and proudly carried back to camp.

A few scraggly pet dogs and scrawny cats and occasionally a piglet haunt the village kitchen huts and earth ovens in search of scraps of food and refuse. Dogs are not eaten today, but the natives say that in the past they were a favored dish reserved for men only.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

There was apparently little if any gardening on these islands before the introduction of manioc and sweet potato in recent times, inasmuch as yams, taro, and bananas, the main native garden products of Fiji, grow poorly in this soil. Jungle products formerly provided the staple food. According to informants, the *wangiri* nut was the staple on the limestone islands and Kambara, while the *yambia* (*Tacca pinnatifida*) was the staple on the volcanic islands. Collecting of fruits, nuts, tubers, green leaves, and wood grubs in the bush was supplemented by many kinds of fishing, pig and fowl raising, and by hunting sea turtle and coconut crabs. Moreover, food was and is still imported from the volcanic islands in exchange for craft products. The development of craftsmanship was based on the presence of rare and valuable resources such as hardwoods, the finest types of paper mulberry for making barkcloth, and pandanus. Carpentry, fishing and in recent times barkcloth making, were organized under hereditary specialists and a high degree of technical skill was attained. Before the first contact with western civilization, canoes, wooden bowls, drums, weapons, barkcloth, mats, and perfumed oil from the southern islands were in demand throughout Fiji and Tonga.

The native Lauan economic system still functions with slight modifications today. It is still closely integrated with the whole social and religious life of the natives. Practically all work is done in kinship groups. Even now a man labors not for himself but primarily for his clan. The main task of production is borne by the household or the sub-clan, depending on the size of the group and the nature of the task. Work requiring many hands, such as house and canoe building and barkcloth making, is done communally by a clan or village group under the direction of a specialist. Important steps such as the planting and harvesting of yams, the felling of the hull or launching of a canoe, the erection of the main house-posts and the completion of the house are marked by

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

son lived in the house of his wife's cross cousin and family of ten. Malakai not only sheltered but also fed Wai's family. Wai neither fished nor cultivated the land he was allowed to use, but roamed about the bush satisfying his hunger with fruits, nuts, and wood grubs, and by soliciting or filching from the gardens of his wife's relatives. Once we watched him hunting edible wood grubs which live in rotted tree trunks. The saliva ran from his mouth when he discovered a nest of them, and in a very short time he had consumed all forty-six grubs. Often when we had planned a day's trip to another village Wai would miraculously appear out of the bush to beg a canoe ride, which could not be refused without losing face, and partake of the feast of welcome prepared by our hosts. In spite of his frequent thefts and general shiftlessness Wai managed to keep out of court by the ingenious method of disappearing from the islands just before the native provincial circuit court was scheduled to arrive, and returning to continue his parasitic existence after it had left. Wai is an example of a man who exploited the institution of soliciting. His was the lowest standard of living on Kambara and he held the lowest social status.

WHITE MAN'S GOLD

Votavota ko lewa, mata tha,
Ndigitaka ka levu, ka visa.

Your evil eye esteems your share too small,
And prompts you greedily to aim at all.

Fijian proverb.[35]

Before mission teachings had gained a foothold on Kambara, the introduction of the sweet potato from Tonga, and later of the South American tapioca from Vanua Vatu in Lau, according to informants, began to revolutionize the economic

[35] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 110.

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

by their genealogies and by the idea of rank based on male primogeniture and they introduced ancestor worship into Lau.[16]

The aborigines and their descendants, however, kept most of the land, their food-producing patterns, and their basic ecological adjustment to the environment. They also kept their nature religion, related to that adjustment, and many of their traditional attitudes and values. In time manioc and sweet potato, exotic food plants which made gardening possible to a limited extent on the limestone islands, found their way into Lau, allowing an increase in food production and population. Gradually, on the basis of ancient structures, the ecological and cultural pattern of the area developed a new balance. Although Tongan and European influences have somewhat altered it in recent years, in that warfare has ceased and most of the Lauan religious practices have been lost due to missionary influences, the basic structure of the eco-cultural arrangement apparently persists to the present in southern Lau.

Space would not permit a complete description of Lauan culture from the total ecological viewpoint even if the available data allowed it. It will suffice for our purpose to note certain aspects of the productive and distributive system in ecological context. The food problem looms large in this community on account of many interrelated factors. Among them are the frequency of drought and destructive hurricanes in the area, the scarcity and poor quality of garden land on the limestone islands, the fact that most manioc (staple of the limestones since its introduction) is inedible before it has been processed by a tedious operation to remove the poison, and the difficulty of preserving and storing food in the tropics under native conditions.

Under such circumstances we might expect the diet of the Lauans to be deficient both in quantity and in nutritional balance. No systematic studies of diet have been made in this area, but we note that to be satisfactory from the native viewpoint, a meal, or a feast must consist of two parts: 1. steamed "true food" (called *kana nichina*), namely a staple such as yam, breadfruit, sweet potato, manioc, or Tahitian chestnut (*Inocarpus edulis*); and 2. a boiled relish (called *mboro*) made of fresh green leaves, fish and coconut "cream," seasoned with bird's eye pepper. Pigs and sea turtle are feast foods. This pattern of diet requires little or no fresh water in a community where fresh water is exceedingly scarce, another adaptation to the environment. Moreover, it appears to be well-balanced from the nutritional viewpoint, the "true food" providing the bulk of carbohydrates, some proteins, fats, minerals and vitamins, while the relish furnishes proteins of superior quality and fat (i.e., from

[16] They set their clans up over those of the aborigines as a noble class, each clan having three species sacred to it, namely a tree, a fish and a bird. They required that their first-born males be regarded as sacred chiefs and be rendered tribute by the people in the form of first fruits. They developed a system of worshiping their warrior forefathers by means of hereditary priests in small temples.

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

ripe coconut "cream,")[17] as well as certain indispensable vitamins and minerals found in fresh green leaves and red peppers. Furthermore, although food does not drop off the trees and rot on the ground (as it does on many Pacific islands—e.g., in Guam before the last war), the Lauan diet appears, under native conditions, to have been relatively adequate in quantity except in time of hurricane or drought.

The traditional diet of the Lauans is the result of a complicated and ingenious structure of attitudes, habits and institutions which function to develop and reinforce the basic ecology of the area according to the needs of its population, and to relate and adjust the community as a whole to the total environment. To gain some insight into this structure, let us begin with the daily menu. The Lauans eat only one main meal a day, at about sundown, and the major activities of both sexes are directed toward procuring and preparing the food for this meal. The men and boys of the household are responsible for the daily supply of "true food" for their own group and this they either raise in the household's garden land or collect from the bush. They then carefully prepare it, wrap it in leaves, place each package of food in the earth-oven pit on stones which have previously been heated, cover the whole with leaves and earth, and allow it to steam for at least an hour. The women and girls of the household, on the other hand, are responsible for the relish. They collect fresh green leaves daily—either edible leaves from the bush or sweet potato leaves from the garden. The women also collect shellfish on the reef or fish with nets in the lagoon and they clean the catch on the beach. Then, at the household kitchen huts, they pick leaves from stems, grate and strain the fatty flesh of ripe coconuts to make coconut "cream," and boil the mixture with fish and pepper in pots for at least an hour over a wood fire.

When both parts of the meal, the "true food" and the relish, are finally ready, they are combined and divided into shares, one for each member of the household according to rank, age and sex. Thus the two parts of the daily meal are always procured and prepared separately. Indeed, no woman is allowed near the earth-oven, which is strictly a male domain located some distance from the kitchen hut. This complementary and balanced sexual division of the rather time-consuming labor of meal-getting functions effectively toward insuring that the daily diet will be reasonably adequate, varied, and sufficient

[17] The proximate composition of "coconut cream" is: protein, 3.33%; fat, 33.15%; carbohydrate, 8.62%; calories per 100 grams, 347. (Concepcion, 194?). On this point, Emma Reh, nutrition officer, Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, writes, "The protein content of 'coconut cream' is fairly high considering this is a liquid product. The protein is of good quality, like proteins of pulses, oily seeds and nuts, and superior to those of cereals, starchy roots and other vegetable foods. It is rich in most of the amino acids essential in nutrition. The fat content of the 'coconut cream' is also high, but the fat is low in the unsaturated fatty acids needed by the body. The requirements are however small, and probably met by fats contained in other foods." (Reh, 1948).

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

in quantity to fulfill the needs of the group, without placing undue burden on either sex or on any one individual. The method of sharing the feast tends toward a systematic, equitable distribution of food within the household group.

Now it should be noted that, for the self-maintenance of this diet pattern, each household must have access to three types of resources: namely, garden land, bush, and fishing grounds. With this point in mind, let us glance at the system of land use in southern Lau.[18] After the British took over the Fiji Islands in 1874 and peace was established between native factions, the clan-hamlets moved out of the interior of the Lau islands and settled on adjacent lots on the windward[19] shores, forming coastal villages. But they kept their ancient land divisions and proprietary clan rights. Volcanic islands like Mothe were divided into pie-shaped sections bounded by natural ridges which separate the fertile valleys, and each clan had the use of the garden lands, uplands, and fishing grounds of the section wherein its hamlet had formerly been located. On limestone islands like Fulanga where the valley and ridge conformation is absent, land sections were not pie-shaped; but a similar principle of land division nonetheless prevailed. Formerly the bush and fishing grounds in the vicinity of each site occupied by a clan-hamlet, its jungle fruits, garden lands, and other resources belonged to the hamlet. Each household within a clan-hamlet had the use of a piece of the hamlet's garden lands and all the households of the hamlet together had access to the hamlet's bush and fishing grounds.

After the establishment of coast villages, the bush and fishing grounds belonging to the clans of a village were used in common by the whole village group, but the ancient division of garden lands by clans and households persisted. Furthermore, certain clans or villages claim ownership of one or more of the small uninhabited limestone islands in the community. For example, Naivotavota clan of Nggalinggali village on Kambara claims the island of Wangava and its members supplement the crops they raise on their meager garden lands on Kambara with those they raise on Wangava, and also use Wangava's rather extensive forest and lake products. Undu village on Kambara claims ownership of the island of Marambo and uses its resources. Indeed, all the uninhabited islands of the community are claimed and used to supplement the resources of the owning groups. Thus the land use system of Lau is closely related to the basic ecological arrangement of the area and functions to insure a balanced distribution of various types of island resources among the local groups of each island and to render accessible to each household means of obtaining a balanced daily diet.

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[18] For details *see* Thompson, 1940a, 1940b.

[19] Except Tokalau and Lomatchi located on Kambara's leeward shore near the anchorage.

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

The traditional diet was further safeguarded by an ingenious and self-regulating system of co-operative production and distribution, which encompassed all the local groups in the community. On each inhabited island an hereditary officer called the *taka vanua* is custodian of the jungle fruits and crops. The traditional role of the crop custodian was to watch the island's food supply and, as each major food crop (whether wild or cultivated) matured, to place a tabu on it. When the custodian considered the crop under tabu to have ripened sufficiently, his traditional role was to remove the tabu and to arrange for the collection of first fruits by village and clan groups. The first fruits were then placed on the village ceremonial ground (*rara*) and divided by the custodian into two portions, one for the island chief and one for the people. The chief's portion was presented to the chief ceremonially by the custodian or by another officer of the aboriginal class, called the *takala*. The portion of the first fruits reserved for the people was divided by still another officer, called the headman of the ceremonial ground (*tui rara*),[20] a title hereditary in an aboriginal clan. It was the responsibility of this official to divide the food so that each clan received a fair share. When crops were abundant, part of the first fruits were set aside to be fermented and stored against time of scarcity. After the first fruits ceremony the people of the island were free to gather the remainder of the crop, each group from its own lands.

In this island community where food was none too plentiful and famine a constant threat, the institution of the crop custodian functioned, in total context, to conserve and augment the food supply of each island by preventing the crops from being consumed before they had attained their full size and maturity and their highest nutritive value. It thus served as a public health and resources conservation measure of considerable significance to guard against famine, to obtain the optimum size and food value of the crops, to insure a more equitable distribution of the limited food resources of the community as a whole, to build up community health through more adequate nutrition, and to accumulate a surplus in times of plenty for use in times of scarcity. It should be noted that on each island only the major food crops were placed under tabu. These differed from island to island and from season to season, depending on local conditions as judged by crop custodians, and thus the custodian institution had considerable flexibility.

When the British system of indirect rule was established in Lau, however, the office of crop custodian was not incorporated into the administrative set-up. Indeed, its very existence was probably unknown to Europeans. Moreover, the Lauans soon became confused as to which chief should receive the offering of first fruits—the traditional island chief, whose office had not been recognized officially in the new government system, or the local village chief, an

[20] The *tui rara's* functions were performed on Fulanga by the *tui naro*, an aboriginal clan title.

5: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1949 OQ6 Lau OQ6

officer newly created by British regulation. Consequently the crop custodian, although continuing to function in a limited way on all the inhabited islands of the community, (except Namuka where the crops abundantly cover the needs of the population), has lost considerable authority and prestige. The number of fruit and garden crops placed under tabu for first fruits presentation has decreased in number, at least part of each crop being consumed before it has fully matured, especially on the limestone islands. Food is rarely stored against time of famine, and in general the crops are smaller in size than formerly and less valuable from the viewpoint of nutrition.

As part of the production and distribution system mentioned above, each inhabited island also had a master fisherman (called *ndau ni nggoli*), who had charge of all the island's fishing grounds, communal fishing expeditions and turtle hunts. The office of master fisherman is held by a clan belonging to the noble class, except on islands where that class is absent. The traditional role of the *ndau ni nggoli* was to master the fish lore and fishing techniques of the island and to study the habits of various edible species of marine life in relation to the local fishing grounds, the tide and currents, the weather, the lunar cycle, the seasons, and the presence of noxious plants which render edible species poisonous to man. Although men and women caught fish offshore singly or in groups of two or three by means of nets, lines, and spears for their daily household needs without special permission from the master fisherman, they observed his regulation of the fishing grounds and no large, organized fishing expeditions took place without his sanction. Indeed, the master fisherman himself organized and led all communal turtle-hunts and most large fishing parties. Women's communal fishing was led by the wife or daughter of the *ndau ni nggoli*.

The institution of the master fisherman functioned to increase the total catch by protecting the local fishing grounds from over-fishing and undue disturbance, and by taking advantage of the various group-fishing techniques in relation to the weather, the seasons, and the habits of various edible species. In a community where fishing provided the major protein constituent in the daily diet and an indispensable part of every feast, this institution operated as a public health measure of prime importance in creating and maintaining a balanced relation between the community and its marine food supply. The traditional functions of this institution and its ecological significance are clarified by the fact that, although the prestige and authority of the master fisherman have not been reinforced by the British and consequently this native official has lost status, he still operates unofficially to a limited extent on every inhabited island in the community. As a result of his lowered status and decreased power, however, informants say that the fishing grounds of the various islands are more disturbed than formerly, that there are fewer organized fishing expeditions, and that the catches are smaller than they used to be.

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE LAU GROUP, FIJI.

by E. H. Bryan, Jr.

(Whitney South Sea Bird Expedition, July to October, 1924.)

Introduction.

101 [131] The Lau or Eastern Group, of Fiji, consists of about 40 islands or clusters of islets and numerous reefs, extending from S.16° 40' to S. 19° 15' and from 178° 20' W. to 179° 30' W. It constitutes [648] a frontier between Fiji and Tonga, and has in past years been the 149 scene of numerous invasions from the latter group. On several of the islands the Tongan strain is quite noticeable. The majority of 231 the islands are inhabited by an industrious people, who live on 241 362 fish, pigs, fowl, and yams, sweet potatoes, taro, and manioc and 245 bananas, which they raise extensively for local consumption. The main product of the islands is copra which is dried in quantity from the extensive groves of coconut palms. Many of the men are 322 skillful carvers, making attractive yaqona (yangona) bowls, combs, clubs, wooden pillows, and canoes. The women weave mats from the 285 leaves of the Pandanus, and beat out the sap wood of the paper 287 824 mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera) into a bark cloth called masi, the process being called ramusamu.

133 There are three types of islands in Lau, as follows: limestone, volcanic, and a combination of both. Portions of some of the islands are sandstone, but no island is completely made up of this material. The types are so distinctive that they may be identified at a glance.

The limestone islands are exceedingly rough. The material is upraised coral reef. Their surface has been eroded into sharp ridges or hummocks separating deep pot-holes with jagged faces. The coast line includes deep bays, rugged cliffs and isolated rocks; all typically under-cut at the water's edge. This gives the smaller

13 19. KATAFANGA (or Katavanga) is a small island of limestone and volcanic material, lying 23 miles S.E. of Munia and 19 miles N.N.E. of Tuvatha'. (S. 17° 51', 178° 43' W.) It is 3/4 mile long and 800 yards wide on the north, tapering toward the south, and rises in two rounded hills to a height of 180 feet. The northern third of the island is densely wooded, rough upraised coral limestone; the southern two-thirds, rounded volcanic material, covered with grass and groves of coconut palms. The transition between the two is the most striking seen in Lau, as sharp as if cut by a knife. The southern portion is bordered by a broad beach of sand and slab sandstone.

The island is surrounded by a barrier reef thru which there is a passage on the north side which will admit small vessels drawing 10 feet or less. This passage is not the eastern one, generally indicated on charts, but the narrow one directly north of the N.E. point of the island. In it there are two or three coral heads, but with a favorable tide and commanding breeze small vessels may enter. A desirable 361 anchorage is to be had off the S.E. side of the island, opposite the owner's house, where landing is good.

473 345 The island is freehold property, owned by Mr. T.O.U.Stockwell, who lives on the island and is engaged in producing copra. There is no 464 native population other than his six workmen. Water may be obtained 312 together with small supplies of yams, sweet potatoes, papayas, pigs, etc. 262

Bird and insect life abundant on this luxurient little island. The 13 usual lizards and land crabs present in some numbers.

[p 51]

13 21. TUVUTHA' is a high, moderate size island of upraised coral with intrusions of volcanic material, 5 1/2 miles south of Vekai. (S.17° 40', 178° 48' W.) It is triangular in outline, 3 1/4 miles long, 1 3/4 miles wide at the north end, and tapering toward the S.S.E. The rough, heavily forested limestone cliffs, rising to a height of 750 to 800 feet on the west, enclose a central basin. The southern end of this is partly filled by a volcanic ridge, covered with grass, Pandanus, and low scrub. The northern portion of the basin is partly wooded, with groves of coconut palms and cleared cultivated areas. There are but [487] two trails leading into the interior. One scales the steep cliff behind Tinoa village and enters by a pass in the high ridge on the S.W. side. The other crosses a low place in the N.E. ridge, behind a sand beach and small volcanic knoll, opposite a boat crossing in the reef.

The island is surrounded by a barrier reef, 400 to 600 yards wide and about 1/2 mile off shore. Anchorage may be had outside the reef at the S.W. end, in the lee of a small horn. There are two boat entrances, one on the west, about 1 1/4 miles N.W. of the village, and the one at the N.E. end. Boats may also cross the reef at high tide near the anchorage at the S.W. corner.

361 The inhabitants, about 100 in number, live in one village, Tinoa, [161] on the S.W. side. Good water may be had from a spring here, but fruit, 312 vegetables and coconuts are only obtainable in moderate quantities. 262 The soil in the basin is fertile, but the difficulty of access prevents 134 extensive agriculture. 241

There are two small reefs, Tavunukui Wai and Tavunukui Vanua, to 13 the south of Tuvutha'. The latter contains a sand cay four feet high.

[p. 54]

13 23. VANUA VATU is a small island of limestone and volcanic formation, 25 miles S.S.W. of Naiau and 22 miles N.N.W. of Tavunasithi. Like Naiau, it consists of a dry, grassy basin of volcanic material surrounded by a ring of wooded upraised coral limestone hills rising to 300 feet elevation on the S.E. and S.W. The elevation of the central basin is from 200 to 250 feet. The island is slightly over a mile square.

It is surrounded by a barrier reef which joins the shore in several places on the west side. On the N. and N.E. this reef lies from 3/4 to 1 mile off shore, but is close in for the rest of its length. With an off shore wind, small craft can anchor over a 9 fathom shelf close to the reef in the N.W. cove. From here a boat passage leads into a sandy basin, but a second reef, between this and the village can be crossed only at high water.

361 There is a single village, Taira, one of the neatest and cleanest seen in Fiji, at the N.W. corner. Contrary to the statement of lack of 181 food made in the Pilot book (H.O.166,p.375), we found the people quite 212 prosperous and both food and water fairly abundant. The central basin 312 is dry and rocky, supporting only grass, scrub and Pandanus, but small 13 pockets of fertile soil among the limestone hills have been cleared and 134 crops of sweet potatoes and yams are raised. [241]

[p.58]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

754 It is, however, firmly believed that my predecessor's cook, who rejoiced in the name of Apukuki, was *vakadraudrau'd* to death by his wife, Bale, in a fit of jealousy over his "strayings from the straight path" among the beauties of the village; and a former sergeant of police, named Josateki, is thought to have only escaped by a miracle by the prompt use of antidotes.

But at the same time the would-be wielder of *vakadraudrau* has apparently by no means an easy task. First of all the victim must be either a Lauan or a Fijian. As I mentioned before, [829] white men "eat different food" (which, to a [262] native, accounts for all their idiosyncrasies, and for all the differences of mentality, physique, and habit). "Even the Tongan natives are not affected by it"; and, in fact, their laughing at the folly of it has done as much good as anything towards eradicating it in the Lau Islands. About 175 754 1870, during the Government of Maafu, a Lomaloma man professed to be able to discover and remove *vakadraudrau*. He went to a suspected house at dawn, and first carefully bathed his arms, [786] face, and chest with a certain protective liquid, after which he fell into an inspired frenzy, and was told by his god where to search. Awakening, he thrust his arm into the thatch and triumphantly withdrew a bottle of fluid, which in great awe he poured solemnly into a basin near by, warning

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

the bystanders that a spot of it touching them meant instant death. Mafi, the local Tongan magistrate, a man of great force of character, promptly rinsed his hands in the fluid, and the other Tongans followed suit, with much laughter, covering the crestfallen priest with confusion. But Mafi then, with the rough-and-ready justice of those days, had the man trussed round and round with about fifty coils of rope and laid out for twelve hours in the sun, telling him to keep the flies and insects away by his powerful magic!

But even this did not entirely put a stop to the practice, as the people promptly invented the theory that Tongans were immune. In fact, this was the answer given to a former Magistrate when he argued that the alien usurper Maafu had been able to live to such a great age without succumbing to *vakadraudrau*.

Secondly, the performer must not break certain *tabu* (such as the eating of *matumatu* and *volo*).

Thirdly, there is a time limit of four nights, and the vessel that contains the charm may be discovered in time. Some unscrupulous natives make quite a good thing (until caught, for any dealing with *vakadraudrau* is a criminal offence) by pretending to discover *vakadraudrau* vessels by a superior magic; and only in 1914—while I was away on leave—the Commissioner acting for me convicted a man named Jonetani of this;

[Two kinds of fish.—Analyst]

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

when he is about. You know the light *kato* (palm-leaf baskets) that are often thrown away empty about the town. 'Ulupoka' delights to climb into these, and sometimes when there is not a breath of wind one may see a basket suddenly go rolling along across the grass. Then we know that 'Ulupoka' has got into it."

The others all nodded their heads in acquiescence, and murmured "*Sa dina*" ('tis true).

THE FISHING OF THE SACRED "YAWA."

On another night we were speaking of fishing, and of the best-flavoured fish; for when one gets down to the primitive life one's thoughts turn naturally to food, and I was no exception, for there was not much else to talk about.

"The *saqa* is good, and the *kanacé* is good, but the *nuqa* is sweetest of all," said the native magistrate, a noted fisherman, who was sitting next to me.

"True are your words, sir," said a Doi man, sitting opposite; "but I think you cannot have tasted the *yawa*, the great fresh-water fish of Vanua Balavu."

"No. What is that, Rusiate?" replied the native magistrate.

"It is the sweetest fish in all the world, sir," replied Rusiate; "but it is sacred to the people of

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

776 825 called the 'Meré,' met a sudden storm in Somo Somo Straits, and sprang a leak and sank, leaving Ratu Toro and all his men to swim to the distant shore.

"And when they were about half-way a great shark rose to the surface and looked at them, and then swam slowly round them, smelling at each as he passed; and they knew no fear, for were they not Dakuwaqa's men and recognized by him? But there was a Tongan sailor with them and him they placed in their midst, for had Dakuwaqa seen him, short indeed would have been his life. And so they made safely to shore and all were unscathed; and the Tongan, climbing up on to the reef, cried out, mockingly, '*Sa lako, Bokola*,'—and *Bokola*,[1] as you know, sir, is but an ill name to call anyone, and not at all a word to use to a god. And the Tongan escaped on that day; but months afterwards word came from far-off Tonga that he had been taken by a shark while out fishing one day—for Dakuwaqa never forgets—and the fear of Dakuwaqa thus became greater than ever.

● 262 825 776 [201] "These, sir, are but idle tales," added the old lady, with a would-be scornful shrug of her shoulders, meant to impress on me her utter disbelief in such things. "You know, of course,

[1] Literally, the corpse of an enemy prepared for a cannibal feast; and the greatest insult in the language.

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

that the men of Boitaci used to claim that they could ride to safety on Dakuwaqa's back if ever they were worsted in a battle; but I have never seen that done, and no doubt 'tis but a *kava* tale. This, however, I do know, that the flesh of the shark is *tabu* to them to this day, whereas to other parts of Lau it is allowed; and, indeed, young shark, and the fins and certain parts of even a full-grown shark, are with us deemed a food worthy of chiefs.

"But enough of Dakuwaqa. It comes to my mind that I promised once to tell you the story of Ulumatua, the great serpent-god of my own people, the tribe of Gala, and of certain other tribes of these parts.

"Well-known to all is the history of Degei, the parent god of all, who dwelt in the Na Kauvadra mountains of Great Fiji; but of his children who journeyed on towards the rising sun and finally landed on our coasts but few know the full tale.

"Now, the eldest of these was Ulumatua, and he came to this isle in the very ancient days before man lived here at all; swimming over the great seas came he in company with his brethren. And here it was that they parted, some going to Kabara and the other isles to the south, and some going in a westerly direction to Moala and the neighbouring lands. But